

Message Text

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ACTION NEA-10

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8477

INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN

USINT BAGHDAD

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY JIDDA

AMEMBASSY LONDDON

AMEMBASSY PRAIS

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

AMEMBASSY TRIPOLI

USIA WAHDC

C O N F I D E N T I A L BEIRUT 1100

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINS, PFOR, LE, SY

SUBJ: SYRIANS SUSPECTED IN JAN 31 ATTACK ON TWO BEIRUT DAILIES

REF: BEIRUT 1065

SUMMARY: LARGE, WELL-CONDUCTED ATTACKS JAN 31 ON TWO BEIRUT DAILIES WHICH RECEIVE FUNDS FROM IRAQI REGIME ARE OF CONSIDERABLE SIGNIFICANCE. ATTACKS, WHICH HAVE ELICITED ALMOST UNANIMOUS CONDEMNATION, WERE CONDUCTED BY SYRIAN-SPONSORED SA'IQA AND PROBABLY HAD BLESSING OF SYRIAN OFFICIALS IN LEBANON, MOST PROMINENTLY COL. 'ALI MADANI. SYRIAN CULPABILITY, WHICH IS CONFIDENTIAL

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WIDELY ASSUMED, HAS RAISED IMPORTANT QUESTIONS REGARDING

SARG INTENTIONS IN LEBANON. AT MINIMUM, LEBANESE AND PALESTINIAN "REJECTIONISTS", AS WELL AS OTHER POTENTIAL OBSTRUCTIONISTS, HAVE DRAWN CONCLUSION THAT DAMASCUS IS PREPARED TO USE IRON FIST TO MAKE ITS INITIATIVE IN LEBANON SUCCEED. SUCH TACTICS, HOWEVER, WILL EVENTUALLY ADD TO PRESSURES FOR AN END TO OVERT SYRIAN ROLE HERE AND SOME OBSERVERS ARE ALREADY DISCERNING SYRIAN MANEUVERS TO EXTEND THEIR RESIDUAL INFLUENCE OVER LEBANESE SCENE. WE FIND MOST OF THE EVIDENCE ADDUCED THUS FAR SKIMPY, BUT IT IS ONLY LOGICAL THAT THE AASAD REGIME WOULD NOT INVEST ITS PRESTIGE SO HEAVILY TO SET THE LEBANESE HOUSE IN ORDER WITHOUT TAKING PRECAUTIONS TO BE CERTAIN THAT IT REMAINS THAT

WAY. WE SHALL BE FOLLOWING SITUATION, THEREFORE, FOR TANGIBLE SIGNS OF SYRIAN INTENTIONS OVER THE LONGER TERM. END SUMMARY.

1. OFF(LOCATED IN SHIYAH) OF BEIRUT DAILIES "AL MUHARRIR" AND "BAYRUT" WERE ATTACKED EARLY EVENING JAN 31 BY LARGE, WELL-ARMED FORCE. ATTACKERS KILLED SEVERAL, INCLUDING "MUHARRIR" EDITOR NAYIF SHUBLAQ, AND WOUNDED NUMBER OF STAFFERS IN TWO OFFICES. ATTACK, WHICH SHOWED CONSIDERABLE COORDINATION, WAS PROBABLY CARRIED OUT BY ELEMENTS OF THE SYRIAN-SPONSORED SA'IQA AND THERE IS CONVINCING EVIDENCE THAT IT WAS CONDUCTED WITH FOREKNOWLEDGE OF SYRIAN OFFICERS IN BEIRUT. "BAYRUT," AND TO A LESSER EXTEND "AL-MUHARRIR," ARE SUPPORTED BY THE IRAQI GOVERNMENT.

2. INCIDENT, WHICH HAS AROUSED CONSIDERABLE INTEREST IN LEBANON, WAS TIMED BETWEEN 1900 AND 2000 HOURS LOCAL WHEN MAXIMUM NUMBER OF NEWSPAPER STAFFERS WOULD BE ON PREMISES. IBRAHIM AMER, EGYPTIAN STAFFER ON "BAYRUT", TOLD EMBOFF CONTACT THAT ATTACK WAS WELL-PLANNED AND INVOLVED RECOILESS RIFLES, MORTARS AND AUTOMATIC WEAPONS WHICH WERE EMPLOYED TO PIN DOWN OCCUPANTS OF OFFICES. ATTACKERS THEN USED KEROSENE TO SET FIRE TO "BAYRUT" PREMISES, WITH RESULT THAT MANY OCCUPANTS, INCLUDING AMER, SUFFERED BURNS AND SMOKE INHALATION DAMAGE. AMER AND OTHER VICTIMS FROM WHOM WE HAVE RECEIVED INDIRECT REPORTS

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ARE CATEGORIC IN BLAMING SA'IQA AND IMPLICATING COL. "ALI MADANI, ONE OF TWO SYRIAN MEMBERS OF TRIPARTITE HIGHER MILITARY COMMITTEE, WHICH IS SUPERVISING CURRENT CEASE-FIRE IN LEBANON.

3. INFORMATION DEVELOPED FROM LEBANESE ARMY SOURCES BY DATT TENDS TO CONFIRM INVOLVEMENT OF COL. MADANI, ACCORDING TO THIS INFORMATION, MADANI WAS IN SHIYAH AFTERNOON

JAN 31 AS PART HIS EFFORTS TO DISMANTLY REMAINING BARRICADES IN THAT AREA IN LINE WITH PROGRAM OF HIGHER MILITARY COMMITTEE. WHEN HE DISCOVERED SANDBAG EMPLACEMENT OUTSIDE "MUHARRI" OFFICES, MADANI DEMANDED IT BE REMOVED. OCCUPANTS OF EMPLACEMENT REFUSED AND FIRED ROUND BETWEEN MADANI'S LEGS. MADANI PROCEEDED TO HIGHER MILITARY COMMITTEE TO REPORT AND PROMISED ACTION TO SOLVE PROBLEM. ATTACK FOLLOWED SHORTLY THEREAFTER.

4. ATTACK HAS AROUSED PREDICTABLE OUTCRY FROM PRESS CIRCLES, PALESTINIANS ("REJECTIONISTS" AND "MODERATES") AND LEBANESE LEFT. ACCORDING TO PALESTINE NEWS AGENCY, Wafa, "MODERATE" PALESTINIANS, INCLUDING SA'IQA LEADERSHIP, LABELLED INCIDENT THE WORK OF "UNDISCIPLINED SA'IQA ELEMENTS". NEVERTHELESS, MANY INFORMED OBSERVERS HAVE CONCLUDED THAT SYRIANS ARE BEHIND THE ATTACK, WHICH IS INTERPRETED VARIOUSLY AS (A) OPENING ROUND IN SUPPRESSION OF PRO-IRAQI BAATH AND PALESTINIAN "REJECTIONISTS"; (B) RETALIATION FOR RECENT ATTACK ON LEBANESE ARMY ESCORT OF SYRIAN FONMIN KHADDAM IN BEKAA (ACCORDING TO THIS VERSION, IRAQI BAATH WAS CULPRIT RATHER THAN "LEBANES ARAB ARMY" OF LT. AHMED AL KHATIB) OR (C) WARNING TO LEBANESE PRESS TO EXERCISE CAUTION RE SYRIA AND SYRIAN ROLE IN LEBANON. PFLP, IN BITTER COMMUNIQUE, WAS UNEQUIVOCAL IN ITS ACCUSATIONS: "SA'IQA FROCES LAUNCHED THEIR BARBARIC ATTACK ON "BAYRUT" AND "AL-MUHARRIR" IN ORDER TO CONFIRM SERIOUSNESS OF SYRIA'S INTENT TO SUBJECT RESISTANCE AND NATIONALIST FORCES IN GENERAL, AND REJECTIONIST FORCES IN PARTICULAR, TO DEMAGOGIC DICTATORSHIP THAT FORMS MAIN PART OF RECENT AGREEMENT ACHIEVED BY SYRIAN INITIATIVE AND BY SYRIAN ROLE, OF WHICH STATE DEPARTMENT SPOKESMAN SAID, "U.S. RECOGNIZES CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE OF SYRIAN GOVERNMENT
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IN LEBANON"... ATTACK AGAINST THESE NEWSPAPERS REVEALS REAL NATURE OF THIS DEMOGAGIC DICTATORSHIP, WHICH IS DIRECTLY LINKED TO EFFORTS TO REACH PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT IN MIDEAST."

5. COMMENT: INCIDENT THUS FAR HAS SEVERAL CURIOUS ASPECTS, NOT THE LEASE OF WHICH IS UNICERSAL CONDEMNATION, INCLUDING BY PRO-SYRIAN ELEMENTS IN COUNTRY; AS WELL AS PRIME MINISTER KARAME. IF, AS APPEARS PROBABLE, SYRIAN OFFICIALS IN LEBANON COUNTENANCED ATTACKS, THEY HAVE MADE NO RPT NO EFFORT PUBLICLY TO JUSTIFY OR RATIONALIZED THEM IN TERMS OF ENFORCING CEASEFIRE AGAINST DISRUPTIVE FACTIONS. NEVERTHELESS, ALL AND SUNDRY HAVE DRAWN LESSON THAT SYRIANS ARE PREPARED TO PLAY ROUGH TO ACHIEVE THEIR POLICY OBJECTIVES HERE. ACCORDING TO SEVERAL ACCOUNTS OF INCIDENTS, MORE THAN 100 MEN IN TWENTY-TWO

LANDROVERS PARTICIPATED IN ATTACKS; IT IS STRETCHING CREDULITY A BIT THIN TO VISUALIZE THIS FORCE AS UNDISCIPLINED BREAK-AWAY BAND.

6. IMMEDIATE EFFECT OF INCIDENT AND WIDESPREAD SUSPICION OF SYRIAN CULPABILITY WILL BE TO INCREASE RESENTMENT OF SYRIAN PRESENCE AMONG MUSLIM AND PROGRESSIVE ELEMENTS, WHERE SOME SIGNS OF DISAFFECTION WERE ALREADY EVIDENT. THUS, PRESSURE FOR EARLY WITHDRAWAL OF VISIBLE SYRIAN PRESENCE WILL PROBABLY BECOME STRONGER. AT SAME TIME, NO ONE BELIEVES THAT SYRIANS, WITH SUBSTANTIAL INTEREST IN LEBANESE DEVELOPMENTS AND HEAVY INVESTMENT OF NATIONAL PRESTIGE

IN MAKING PRESIDENT ASAD'S INITIATIVE TO RESOLVE DOMESTIC CRISIS HERE SUCCEED, WILL BE CONTENT TO LEAVE FUTURE EVENTS IN THIS COUNTRY TO CHANCE OR THE VAGARIES OF LEBANESE POLITICS, NOT ONLY THE PRO-IRAQI ELEMENTS, WHO ARE SYRIA'S NATURAL RIVALS ON THE LEBANESE SCENE, BUT ALL WHO MIGHT AT SOME POINT RUN AFUL OF SYRIAN POLICY ARE NOW ALERT TO SYRIAN PLANS TO STRENGTHEN AND CONSOLIDATE THEIR INFLUENCE UPON LEBANESE INTERNAL SCENE AGAINST THAT DAY WHEN THE OVERT SYRIAN PRESENCE WITHDRAWS. SOME COMMENTATORS ARE ALREADY PROFESSING TO SEE EVIDENCE THAT DAMASCUS IS ANNOYING LEBANESE INDIVIDUALS AND GROUPS, OVER AND ABOVE SA'IQA AND THE PRO-SYRIAN BAATH, TO SERVE AS SURROGATES IN THE FUTURE. WE DO NOT YET FIND THIS EVIDENCE CONVINCING, CONFIDENTIAL

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BUT SHALL BE WATCHING CLOSELY FOR INDICATIONS OF SYRIAN INTENTIONS. IT SEEMS UNLIKELY TO US THAT SYRIANS, HAVING RESCUED LEBANON FROM ITS OWN SPECIAL KIND OF HELL, WILL DEPART WITHOUT EXACTING SOME PRICE, WHICH WILL LEAVE DAMASCUS IN A POSITION TO PREVENT A REPETITION OF PAST STRIFE. LAMBRAKIS

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